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SOIL OF LIBERTY

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PUT OUT BY NORTH COUNTRY ANARCHISTS

AND ANARCHO-FEMINISTS

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WHAT'S MY LINE?



PEOPLE vs POWERLINE

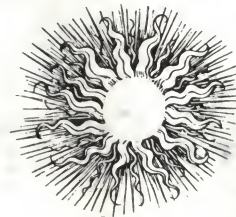
WHAT'S GONE UP WILL COME

Geoffrey Gardner

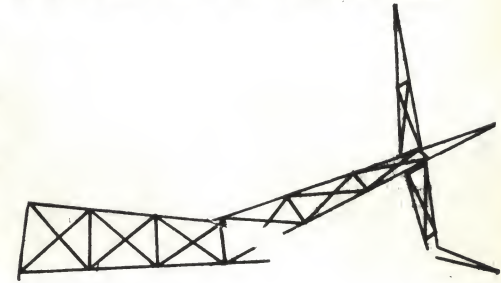
Construction of the 800-kilovolt powerline from Underwood, North Dakota to Delano, Minnesota has been finished since late last September. For the past three months the line has been under electrical test by the two utility cooperatives that built it across the small farms of Minnesota. The cooperatives, United Power Association and Cooperative Power Association, hope they can have the line in full operation by next June. But the project is still under stringent political test as well. And I think it's true that we're now three months nearer the day when we'll all know for a certainty that no juice will ever flow over the line and into the Mid-Continent Area Power Pool.

Early last fall farmers involved in the powerline dispute asked the Twin Cities Northern Sun Alliance to hold a rally on October 29 at the Delano, Minnesota substation, the easternmost point on the line, where power is converted from DC to AC, reduced, and sent south and east. In the end, the rally was supported by a remarkable coalition of farmers, the American Indian Movement, and other sympathetic organizations. From the start, some form of civil disobedience was promised.

The utilities responded in characteristic fashion, cluttering up their property still further by erecting dozens of "Private Property--No Trespassing" signs all over their land and by calling for 50 Wright County deputies to be on hand. At the end of the rally, twenty people were arrested for simple trespass when they crossed police lines. They were on their way to lean a few protest signs against the fence around the substation and symbolically lock the gate with a bicycle chain.



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All twenty trespassers immediately went on a liquids-only hunger strike to strengthen resistance to the line. Bail was punitively stiff: \$500 to \$1000 each. Later bail was lowered to \$300. Some of the people arrested bailed out, but ten chose to stay in jail and on hunger strike until the trial eleven days after the arrest. Among those who stayed was Dean Reed, an American singer and filmmaker who lives in East Berlin and happened to be in Minneapolis, visiting with friends and showing his latest film. Because Dean was along, it turned out to be fairly easy for protesters to get national and even international press coverage--most good, some very bad--of the issues around the arrests and the powerline.

The most interesting and impressive part of the whole event was the trial itself. After a full day of jury selection six jurors were picked: a postman, a schoolteacher, a gift shop manager, a farm wife, a secretary (married to a farmer), and a truck loader. The trial was well attended by urban and rural supporters of the defendants, and all the way through felt like a clearcut case of the state and corporate business against the people. In fact, one had the feeling that a very large number of the likeminded had been gathered together with two aliens in their midst: the prosecutor and the judge.

The prosecution ran down its case with a thorough exhibition of ineptitude and lack of imagination, treating the whole thing as if it were nothing more than what they claimed: a matter of simple trespass. Against the constant objections of the prosecutor, most of

them sustained by the judge, the protesters tried to raise political, economic, health, and safety issues during testimony. The jury was clearly interested in what witnesses had to say and seemed dismayed and annoyed at the efforts of the prosecution and the judge to keep their interest from being satisfied. Eleven defendants were officially pro se, defending themselves. They had the right to make a series of moving and informative closing arguments, excerpts from which are reprinted below. The jury seemed affected by the defendants' statements. How affected no one could tell.

After deliberating for seven hours the jury came back with their verdict. I think most of us present expected that they would reluctantly and tearfully return a verdict of guilty. But to everyone's utter astonishment their verdict was not guilty. And it was the defendants who were tearful, and then exultant! The defendants spontaneously applauded the jury and the trial was over.

The next morning found the utilities executives deploring the verdict in the press, saying that the jury had given a clear mandate to protesters to do as they would with company property. I think that judgment was correct, and one of the few accurate statements that the cooperatives have ever made. And I also think we ought to be doing everything we can to take full advantage of the victory.

The night of the verdict the utilities had also reported that from November 1 until the end of the trial more than seventy insulators had been shot out along the line, costing the utilities thousands of dollars. Within a month of the verdict, the Centurion Detective Agency was once more publicly exposed--this time losing its license--for unethical tactics and harassment of farmers by its agents (among them the infamous dirty trickster Daryl Mulroy) while employed by UPA/CPA. A little while

later it became known that the federal government, through the General Accounting Office, was investigating the cooperatives for cost overruns of more than two million dollars in the powerline project. And the Office of Technology Assessment was about to begin an investigation of the project as a whole.

On December 14, in the space of one hour, 200 insulators along the line were shot out, causing what the utilities claimed was \$150,000 worth of damage. A week and a half



later, a tower was toppled in Traverse County. This time the utilities set the price at \$350,000. UPA/CPA cost estimates continue to be one the greatest sources of encouragement resisters have.

Almost as soon as he came into office, Al Quie, Minnesota's new governor, became embroiled in the powerline controversy, displaying even less tact and coherence than his predecessor had. By the end of his second week in office, Quie and the press had been caught concocting a cock-and-bull story about terrorist farmers offering him threatening ultimatums to enforce their demands that an expert "science court" be assembled to rule on the health and safety questions connected with the powerline. A few more stories like that one and Quie will quickly come to be called Governor Mulroy.

What all these events add up to is a sense of the growing awareness among more and more



people that the really critical thing about the "energy crisis" is and always has been the blatant and mindless profit-seeking of suppliers and their friends in government, whatever the risks to people, livestock, and land. And it's just this that people in Minnesota and across the country are fed up with. And because it is so blatant, boondoggles like the powerline become more and more vulnerable all the time.

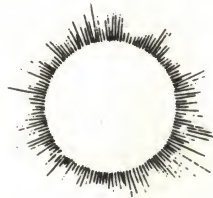
It's certain that Minnesota farmers who oppose the powerline will continue to be persistent and imaginative in the ways of resistance and disruption. If their supporters in the cities school themselves in becoming just as persistent and creative, I think there's a very strong likelihood that electricity will never run over the line and that the towers will come down. This will be an important people's victory, and the consequences for the anti-nuclear movement and the chances for libertarian change in the economics of energy will be great. But creativity and persistence in community education and resistance are absolutely essential.

I think it's also the case that the possibility of a victory in the movement against the powerline engenders a responsibility in all those who oppose the line to come up with a full set of realizable and detailed alternatives to capital-intensive and despoiling techniques for supplying energy. This has

got to be the work of everyone. Plans should be regional in scope and at every possible point ought to involve conservation and conversion from non-renewable to renewable sources of power: wind, waste, water, and sun. And the first region planned for ought to be the area now under the UPA/CPA powerline. The final product has got to be a comprehensive, statewide plan for conversion to renewable sources for energy. A plan like that would wipe the need for big capital off the slate, create hundreds of interesting jobs, and drastically undercut the influence of the big-money, big-power interests that would have us all living in air-conditioned stinking cities, eating only food grown hydroponically on a moon that they could call their own.

If a plan like the one I'm proposing is not the revolution, what is?

The Powerline Task Force of the Twin Cities Northern Sun Alliance meets regularly. Those interested should call 874-1540 for information. Contributions may be sent to 1513 East Franklin Avenue, Minneapolis, MN 55404.



HOW I BECAME A PAWN IN THE COLD WAR ... (without even TRYING)

By Nhat Hong

There we were, a score of us butting up against a police line guarding a still inert electric conversion station at the end of the 800 kv powerline that farmers and city radicals were struggling against. It was a mild, almost polite meeting of the police and protestor teams. An old, but still vital and important drama was to take place. Police arrest protestors, protestors go to jail, protestors get found guilty, and protestors pay their debt to society. Pretty straightforward stuff. Yet something happened along the way that started a little press war between the ruling classes of the U.S. and Soviet Bloc countries.

It was a little bit funny when you look at it. Here were ten of us on an 11-day hunger strike to keep attention on the powerline. Among the ten were six anarchists and a state-socialist version of an aging, but still skinny Elvis with all the appropriate state-socialist trimmings for a "pop-idol". "Socialist" fame brings a comfortable, if not proletarian life with a car, big house on a lake, speedboat, "peace prizes" from governments, TV specials, etc. This "socialist" fame also gives the opportunity to become an apologist for the wage system, incentive differentials in pay, clean "socialist" nuclear power and the "necessity defense" for repressive measures in state-socialist countries.



But let me stop right here and say I don't have any hard feelings about Elvis Breznev personally. He's a good fellow, if an unspirited (read socialist-realist) rock and roller. My bone to pick isn't with the in-

dividual but with the two statist systems that buried the powerline issue and started an absurd newspaper war over human rights and the wonders of capitalist justice.

What transpired at the trial was a remarkable engagement between the undefensive defendants and the six jurors. We were acquitted essentially on the strength of very direct, anti-corporate closing statements by the trespassers. The acquittal was unbelievable and each state system set out to explain the surprise outcome. U.S. news brouhahaed the virtues of American justice and snickered at the Soviet Bloc losing a good propaganda tool. The Soviet Bloc said smugly, "Look at the power of international proletarian solidarity snatching our famous pop-idol from the jaws of the capitalist oppression."

Naturally, what got lost in all this was the significance of what happened. The strength and courage of Minnesota farmers fighting the powerline was ignored. The short-circuiting of capitalist justice by the engagement between trespassers and jury members went unnoticed, except by the corporations involved who complained they didn't have any property rights anymore. The power ordinary, unfamous people can exercise over their own lives was suppressed by both state systems, for such knowledge is dangerous.

So what am I thinking two months later following the event and schmaltsy anti-communist articles in *Time* and *People* magazines about our famous jail-bird comrade? Well, I tell you, I'll still do stuff with people of other left-wing persuasions as long as they aren't religious about it or if they're famous. Sure, it might not be their fault that they got the limelight, but contrary to popular opinion, the limelight stays on the individual and does not illuminate the cause they lend themselves to. All struggles and history are made by the oppressed and good-hearted famous folks are welcome on the freedom train, but not as engineers!

STATEMENTS TO THE JURY...

OR...

DANIEL SHAW

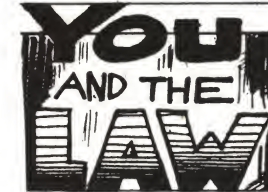
i have to confess that i'm often lost in all that's gone on in this case. objections sustained and overruled. attorneys approaching the bench, witnesses talking endlessly about roads and ditches and arrests. none of it has much to do with what happened two weeks ago.

two weeks ago several hundred people got together to say that it is wrong for governments and corporations to band together and steal land from people who have farmed it for years, that it is wrong for the utilities to plough up the lives of farmers the way they plough a field of corn so they drive heavy equipment onto it. after the rally 20 people led most of those same people across the road where the converter station stands. one of the signs we carried read: condemned. and what we were condemning was not just the station which marks the end of the 800 kv line but a corporate/govt. alliance which actively pursues almost two hundred charges against people opposed to the powerline which ignoring one hundred thirty complaints of illegal activities by UPA-CPA and harassment by local and state police as well as construction workers. we condemned a system whose state supreme court admits that UPA-CPA have repeatedly violated legal rules and procedures and still refuses to halt them on the grounds that too much money has already been spent.

and where are the guardians of law? in response to a peaceful protest against the disregard of human rights and safety of Minnesota farmers we see that elaborate plans were made and every available deputy called up to protect the utilities who have bullied and bribed their way across west central Minnesota with a powerline that no one besides themselves really wants or needs. we see police dressed in riot gear prepared to protect the corporations from the people.

what are we here for today? the judge and prosecutor will tell you that you must set aside sympathy and emotion and decide whether or not a law has been broken. that is why they are here. i am here to ask for justice

for the farmers along the powerline and anyone else who is tired of seeing the laws serve money interests at the expense of ordinary people.



what is justice? for me justice is something in the hearts of every woman and man. it is satisfaction at seeing good people rewarded. to make our lives simpler we try to embody justice in our laws and institutions. but the constant grumblings we hear about large corporations and corrupt politicians make it clear that the justice in law and the justice in our hearts went their separate ways some time ago.

many of you were asked if you believed that laws should be applied equally to people and corporations and all answered yes. but is this what we see in our own lives?



all their lives farmers protesting the powerline have considered themselves participants in and supporters of the system--paying taxes, fighting in wars and feeding the nation. but when the crunch came, when they asked the government to protect them from the utilities, they were abandoned. so they have taken their protest to the fields. they are saying that the laws that protect the utilities are wrong. it is their example and the rights they are

FORGIVE US OUR TRESPASSES

fighting for that bring us here: not to the courts that have condoned the injustice they're suffering but to you, the people.

i find it strange that you have been told to ignore your sympathies and emotions and to determine guilt or innocence on the basis of facts presented. if what we seek is justice, why are we asked to cut ourselves off from the source?

the law, as it stands today, is no solution to the problems of our country faces these days. what we need so desperately is justice and love. i ask you to return to the justice in your hearts. i ask you to find us not guilty.



NHAT HONG

I would like to introduce myself and the reasons behind why I am standing before the court today.

I began learning the trade of a printer in the fall of 1975 and helped form a cooperative of printing workers that same year. At this time I am working at this worker-owned and -controlled cooperative, Haymarket Press, as a printing press man. Our emphasis at the print shop is doing printing for community or-

ganizations, groups committed to social change and artists of all kinds, at a much reduced cost. I am fortunate, for my daily work and my burning desire to see a new and better future for all people complement each other at the print shop. For me Haymarket Press is a place to earn a modest living, but it also satisfies another necessity: that is to raise a cry of warning, danger, and anger when any person or people is mistreated and oppressed.

You might say my work and my feelings about it are the reasons for my being here today. I have sorely missed the companionship of fellow workers and the important work the print shop is doing this past two weeks of being jailed in Wright County. But there are times when an injustice and danger is so great that a mild word of protest or a printed appeal to reason are not enough.

I have been able to follow the farmers' struggle against the 800 kilovolt powerlines from the work that goes through the print shop. I have seen and helped print a mountain of words to spark some recognition that the corporations building the powerline and the government protecting it have treated Minnesota farmers with unfairness and complete disregard of the basic human rights. The god of money, of profit, is the shrine the corporations and government worship at and we, the common people, are the sacrifice.

The farmers affected by the powerline resented the trespass on their land. They resented having no say about the intrusion on their work and homes. They resented the worry about the biological effect the powerline would have on husband, wife, children, neighbors, livestock, and pets. They resented getting pushed around and they began to do what they needed to stop it.

It has been four years of opposition and a long list of unsympathetic, often corrupt hearings before the whole range of government agencies supposed to protect all of us from the greed that money and profit spawn. It has become clear that profit-twisted thinking informs the regulatory agencies' actions and the fight for a decent, safe farm family life

loses to the fight for an indecent corporate profit.

Every door was closed and the farmers did what any right-thinking person would do. They fought their battle themselves. I admired their courage and believed the rightness of their cause.

Could I stand by while my fellow-worker farmers were threatened? Could I print a second mountain of words to fall on deaf, bureaucratic ears while our farmer friends acted in the fields? Of course I could not, because an injury to one is an injury to all. My wife, my family, my friends are not surprised at my place of residence the past eleven days. I am the least surprised of all and harbor only one regret: that what we did only raised the question of the powerline's effect on farmers and did not settle the question once and for all.



JAMIE CYSON, WHITE EARTH CHIPPEWA TRIBE

My participation in the act of civil disobedience was nonviolent and only a small part of the larger protest against this 800 KV powerline. I am against the control that the corporations have over farmers, to take their land and livelihood for high voltage powerlines and substations. These are the same corporations that have continually invaded and harassed Indian people on our own reservations given to us by the federal government. Our land is being taken for natural resources, to develop energy at the cost of our lives.

As a Chippewa Indian I unite with the farmers of West Central Minnesota and Wright County in the fight for our human rights. And I ask you the jury to find me not guilty of a small trespass charge when you can see that the trespass by UPA-CPA has been far more severe and never prosecuted.

GEOFFREY GARDNER

I'm Geoffrey Gardner. Two weeks ago Sunday I crossed the police line out at the Delano sub-station while carrying a banner that read "STOP THE POWER LINE." I was arrested. I knew that I was risking arrest, but it was far more important to me that our signs be placed at the plant gate as a statement of resistance to a project that has already done enormous damage and threatens to do still more harm unless it is stopped. Risking arrest that day was an act of civil disobedience. For me it was also an act of conscience and love.

Some of my friends have already spoken to you about the issues of human rights, health and safety and the violations of public process that underlie our opposition to the power line that runs from Underwood, North Dakota down to Delano. So I thought I'd talk to you a little about the effects of the power line on the farmers and the land.

More than 8,500 acres of farm land have been taken by the utilities for this project. Many more lines are planned and thousands more acres of farm land will be taken. Virtually all of the farm land removed from production for these lines has been taken from small, family farmers. Virtually none of it has been taken from the huge corporate farms. These projects add to the already powerful pressure on Minnesota farmers to "get big or get out." Every year the number of people living on the land in this state decreases, and centralized power over what we eat and how it's grown fills the vacuum and expands. As a result, towns get smaller, cities get bigger. There are constantly fewer jobs and degenerating social conditions. The quality of food grows worse and its price goes higher. And it constantly takes more and more non-renewable fuel to run the whole show. It's only the big corporations that profit from the mess.



The Underwood to Delano powerline will be run on coal strip-mined from the so-called "coal fields" of North Dakota. These "coal fields" were once farm and forest land, important natural waterways and drainage systems. They are being destroyed. It takes a thousand years for a single inch of natural humus to develop. The damage will not be repaired in historical time. Natural reclamation will take place only within geological time. The coal company doing this damage is also the company that stands to profit most from this project.

All these things add up to a massive violation of the carrying capacity of the land, the point beyond which both the land and all that lives on it are depleted. To violate the carrying capacity of the land threatens extinction. The latest theory is that the dinosaurs became extinct because they were so huge and mindless and slow-moving. Their enormous appetites defoliated the regions where they lived, and they were too slow and too stupid to move elsewhere and so began to eat their own eggs and soon were extinct. They too had violated the carrying capacity of the land.



Dinosaurs. The first time I stood under one of the huge 150-foot towers of this line out in Lowry, I felt as if I were standing in the shadow of a tremendous dinosaur. It was as if gigantic monsters had not just trespassed on the small farms of Minnesota, but had invaded them and taken them over as colonies to prey upon.

I've heard a lot of talk lately about the "ordinary farmers" of Minnesota. I for one don't think there's anything ordinary about them. On the contrary, I think they are extraordinary people who work extraordinarily hard at jobs that are absolutely essential to life. They have shown extraordinary strength and imagination in their fight to maintain themselves and their way of life in the face of the threat the powerline poses.



The ordinary people in this are the ones who man the corporations and government agencies that want to see the line go through. They are motivated only by greed for power and money. They are ordinary because they love order for its own sake and because we run the risk of taking them and their motives more and more for granted.

I think that the choice that's before you today is the same as the choice I felt I had to make out at Delano two weeks ago. I hope that you too will act out of conscience and love. If you do, who knows? It might not be too late for those who run the dinosaur interests to become extraordinary people too.

BRIAN COYLE

My name is Brian Coyle. I am originally from Moorhead, Minn. and presently live in the Cedar-Riverside neighborhood in Minneapolis.

A decade ago, land speculators quietly bought up our neighborhood, block by block, and with \$50 million of federal subsidies they began to build huge high-rise apartment buildings. For ten years my neighbors have resisted these attempts to impose corporate and governmental "urban renewal" schemes. We have used a wide variety of tactics, including everything from polite testimony to environmental suits to civil disobedience.

Like a latterday David, my neighborhood has essentially felled the corporate Goliath and soon we will be developing the remaining land to fulfill our community's need for human-scaled housing appropriate for young families, long-term residents and senior citizens.

Like our high-rises, this powerline project is not ordinary. Instead it is massive--the structures stand as tall as some of our buildings. Like our housing complex, this government-subsidized project's economy is achieved at the expense of the environment and the taxpayer's pocketbook.

Like my neighbors, the farmers first banded together to petition but their grievances went unheard. So they sought relief from the law, but discovered that the law gives the utilities almost unlimited power. Then like my neighbors, they attended public hearings but found them to be a sham. And they lobbied their elected officials but were not really listened to. Instead, the politicians allotted money to measure the impact on their environment after the line is made operative. In the meantime, like in our high-rise apartment complex, thousands of people (like yourselves) are forced to serve as guinea pigs in these large-scale technological experiments.

Feeling disenfranchised and alarmed at their loss of public power, the farmers did exactly what my neighbors have done--they were forced to test the law in order to change it.

Last winter, they repeatedly risked arrest by standing on their own unspoiled farmland and holding the American flag in front of utility surveyors. In so doing, they attracted the attention of the whole state and even city slickers like myself who so admired their patriotic spirit that we drove out to witness history being made for ourselves.

Since we simply cannot allow centralized power to place life-and-death decisions beyond our reach, we must act when necessary to restore citizen control over our community life. Otherwise, in this case, Minnesota's farmers will be forced to "sell out and move on", to leave the land they love and come to the city to live in high-rises which my neighborhood wants to replace with spacious, community-controlled housing.

Hopefully, you can see why we "outsiders" took action at Delano. The feeling of belonging to a place has little to do with county boundaries. No one lives solely in Wright or Pope or Hennepin County anymore. Ours is a world growing smaller than ever before.

CHRIS STRICKLING

My name is Chris Strickling. I want to tell you why I participated in the powerline rally on October 29th.

I work with handicapped people, helping them to adjust to their disability. I work with people who are disabled or paralyzed, many of whom were born as healthy as you and I and who lost control of their bodies through accident or illness. I help people learn to dress and feed themselves again and do the things that restore a sense of dignity and worth. I do this because I feel a sense of responsibility to people in need. I'm grateful for my health and the many things I've been given in my life and want to give back some of these things to people in need. I feel connected to people who have suffered, aware that I have not suffered to any great extent in my life, and all this makes me want to help in any way I can.

For the same reasons, I've become involved in the struggle against this powerline. It's the same sense of responsibility and common bond. It's the same feeling of being connected. I want to be involved in the decisions that affect the quality of my own life. I want this opportunity for city people, rural people, handicapped people, healthy people. I feel that this powerline threatens to take that chance away from us.

The people who live and work under the line were not involved in making the decision as to whether or not the line should be built. They will be the ones most affected by it, yet they weren't even involved in making the decision as to whether or not the line should be built.

Being in jail is for me a first, and I hope, a last. But the cause is just and exceedingly important, and if necessary, I would do it again.

I'm a mother two, a grandmother of one, a homeowner, and I have a job that I usually enjoy. So why in the world would I choose to be protesting a powerline in Delano on a bright October afternoon.

I felt strongly about getting involved this time because the danger to human survival grows every day and in many ways, and the sooner it can be understood by the public, the better for all of us.

After the Vietnam War, I had supposed the next battle against the powers-that-be would involve stopping another foreign war, sometime in the future.

But the powerline situation indicates that the time is not future, but now and the war is not foreign but here, and the danger, this time, is not limited to our draft-age sons but extends to everyone. All of us. You, me, all the protesters, all the powerline owners and promoters, and all future generations.

The dangers to health caused by microwaves and other electric forms of pollution include cancer, cataracts, disturbances to heart pacemakers, and blood-cell changes resulting in leukemia.

Not only is electricity dangerous to health, it is very expensive. No more than a third of the fuel used to drive a power plant is converted into electricity. That means the other 2/3 of the fuel is wasted. The powerlines coming into this area are fueled by low-grade lignite coal--mined and burned in huge quantities west of here--in Montana, Wyoming and North and South Dakota. Western area coal has a high radioactive content which is released into the environment as it is burned, and this pollution drifts eastward to Minnesota and other points east, and turns our rains into weak solutions of sulphuric acid. And surface mining leaves vast stretches of wasteland in the western states. It rapes the earth, our only home.

In addition, I've learned that with every powerline that goes up, energy sources and controls become more centralized, thus giving monopoly powers of price and distribution to large corporations, who already control our lives too much--and over the economy, through

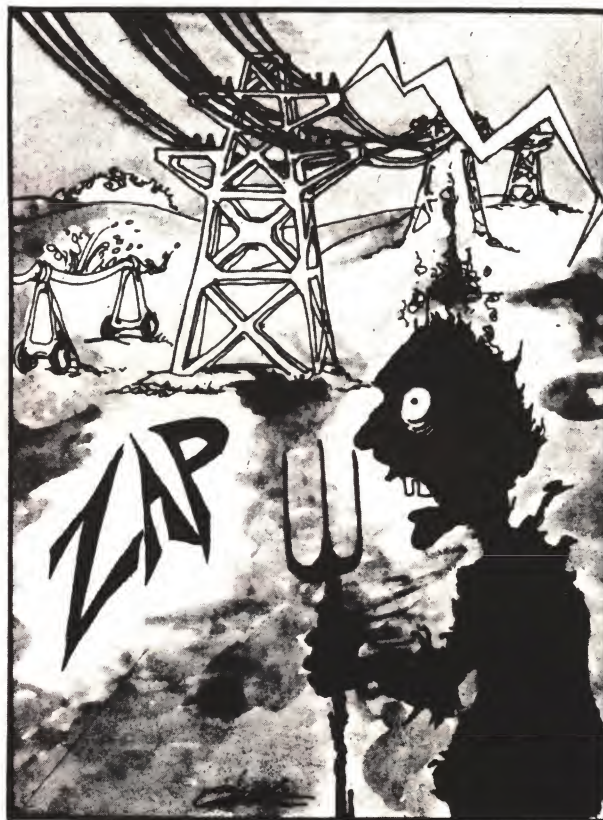
their costly and extensive advertising campaigns, and their paid lobbyists at state capitols, and at the nation's capitol.

In this centralizing process, funding for research and development of alternative and renewable sources of energy is crowded out, because these forms of energy are not so easily monopolizable.

The problem is urgent in terms of time and in the numbers of people endangered. And the sun shines on the just and the unjust alike, and on trespassers and non-trespassers, too. The utility companies are trespassing on our land, and on our health, and on our incomes, and on our futures.

And who is paying for it?

We may lose the Battle of Delano (or the Battle of Buffalo) but we must not lose the energy war.



FLUFFY GOLOD

The plan for Sunday, October 29th, was to carry banners and a cardboard windmill across a road, over a few yards of grass and then to hang the banners on the fence which surrounds the CPA/UPA substation in Delano. This act, harmless enough in itself, landed 20 people in jail.

I have a job which I like to do and a family to care for so the 10 days in jail before this trial were a serious interruption. But I perceive the powerline as such a serious threat to us all--in farms, small towns and big cities--that I feel compelled to be here.

The trespass law intends to protect people whose privacy has been invaded when they have the ability to protect their own privacy. This law is often useful in forcing an intruder off of one's land or out of one's home.

But the utility company is not a private citizen, nor a small business which might require protection. It is a calculated abuse of the trespass law to invoke it to protect the property of a large corporation like CPA/UPA.

In this case, we intended no harm to that equipment and the police knew that. More generally, that land is not "private" in any sense of the word. It was seized under sanction of condemnation and eminent domain, laws which were not intended to protect people but to force them to sell their property to make way for freeways or highrises or powerlines.

Taking land for "the common good" without requiring vote or prior consent of the individual whose property is wanted is not a just act. Eminent domain is the "divine right" of corporations. It is not my fault or yours that this law exists. Getting rid of it will cost us all as much time and pain as it took the English when they figured out that God did not really appoint their kings. In the meantime, we must try to stop the damage being done now.

In the case of the powerline, the damage to economy, ecology and individual right is enormous. Opposition has been channeled through all the usual government offices but government, courts and agencies are sluggish and cold. They've ignored the legal violations committed by CPA/UPA and allowed the line to wend its expensive and unlikely way across the state.

I do not believe, as many do, that when for-

mal political opposition fails, the opponents should be good sports about it all and go home. Important problems are often buried or distorted by show-business politics. People who care deeply about their world must demonstrate their care directly if they wish the world to listen.

The line is complete but it could be dismantled and the materials put to better use. Your elected officials and television sets certainly haven't made that clear to you so that is why we tried to plant a windmill in front of the Delano station--we were trying to tell you something.

We were trying to tell you that we hope the laws and popular sentiment will move to a more genuine conservation approach to energy development. We're afraid that if the utility companies continue at this pace the land and the air will be destroyed. Since energy is used to produce and distribute everything we need, all our goods and products will cost us more each year as long as we allow a wasteful and incautious energy policy.

This was not a publicity stunt or a joke. Black people weren't after publicity when they sat at lunch counters where Negroes had never been allowed. They were saying, "Let us in." Susan B. Anthony and the suffragettes weren't trying to get their pictures in the paper when they chained themselves to the Whitehouse gates. They were insisting, "We're people too. We wish to vote." Not all anti-war demonstrators were long-haired show-offs. The thousands who sat down in Washington were saying, "Stop this awful war."

We are related to those people in spirit. We risked arrest in order to tell you something, "Stop the Powerline!"



POWER AUTHORITY

"Where were you when I
laid the earth's foundations?"

Are the State's connections straight
or are its wires forever crossed?
Gulf Stream licks at the coast & power
leaps across where the elements meet.
With a great roar, water abandons the cliff
to fly through space: first we harness
the current, then the spray, finally noise.
The sun saves nothing, gives it all away.
Moon shifts tidal waters over the face.
Don't make me laugh with your power, authority,
you who can't even speak the language with
your wherefores, herebys and pursuants.
Plant your feet on the earth &
bow from your center of gravity.
An appliance spins on a web of household
current, lonely & constantly changing.
The will of the people
is a bolt of lightning;
try to harness that!
Only turning will bring us round right.
I bow, bow to these mysteries
we all know. None others.

--S. Lewandowski

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POSSESSION OF ANARCHY

A Review

By Victor Urbanowicz

The Dispossessed by Ursula LeGuin, Avon, 1976, \$1.75

A class or discussion group on anarchism, conducted in the hope of making a few converts, should have Ursula LeGuin's novel *The Dispossessed* on the reading list. An introductory class could do worse than use this novel as the main reading. It is highly readable, full of memorable characters and varied action and settings. The author is steeped in anarchist ideas and explores them with philosophical and psychological depth. This novel appeals to the senses, feelings and imagination in order to make the reader think. It is a propaganda novel that a libertarian can use to good effect and with a good conscience.

As such, it is especially suited for reaching people who are attracted by libertarian ideas but who see socialism mainly as a vague threat to personal freedom. My guess is that such people are numerous. They understand how institutions like government and conservative religion get in the way of personal development and spontaneous, productive association. But they see property in terms of personal self-realization: a van, a stereo, a house and furnishings, a collection of books and records. As its title suggests, LeGuin's novel squarely confronts this attitude. The main character, Shevek, is the product of a less than ideal (and therefore believable) anarcho-communist colony on the planet Anarres in the Tau Ceti system. He visits the nation of A-Io on Anarres' twin planet Urras, where the anarchists of Anarres originated over a century and a half before and where both property and government are ancient institutions. Along the way the reader gets a wealth of concrete comparisons between Anarres' libertarian communism and A-Io's bourgeois-democratic society. The comparisons center on authority and, especially, property. Even more central to the novel is how Shevek developed personally in an anarcho-communist society.

The novel's central sociopolitical theme is what might come up as a question from an individualistic person feeling skeptical about communist anarchism: in a society where solidarity and mutual aid are as important as individual freedom, what happens to creative people like those artists or abstract thinkers--like the theoretical physicist Shevek--who must work alone? If such a society were also materially poor, like Anarres, these people would feel strong social pressure from the short-sighted, the mediocre, and the envious to drop their chosen work in favor of more utilitarian projects. This is Shevek's situation, and for a while it seems to provoke an Ayn Randish conclusion: I must assert myself against the collectivity and break away from it, or I will wither away. Shevek indeed asserts himself against the collectivity, but does not exactly break with it. (Rather, a good deal of the collectivity on Anarres would like to break with him.) He confronts his society, asserting his right to pursue his chosen work both by the act of pursuing it and by pursuing it in such a way that his society must either acknowledge that right or deny it explicitly. He rebels for his society's sake as well as his own,



since that society is libertarian. Along the way he encounters many difficulties--walls, to use one of the chief symbols in the novel. Some of these are in his own personality and some in his society, which is becoming informally authoritarian. But he also succeeds because of the better qualities in himself and his society, for both are in their essence "Odonian," or libertarian.

Shevek is a solitary, intellectual person; he is also naive and idealistic to the point of being priggish. This works to his disadvantage, for when someone makes an administrative decision that keeps him from pursuing physics, he tends to accept the decision if Odonian principles are invoked. But when at last he sees that he is up against an informal, self-serving elite, he moves positively and forcefully. As a born and bred anarchist he stands in awe of no authority figure, but only of what he judges to be right and just. And because there is no formal authority on Anarres, the way for him is clear, if far from smooth. Since the principal communications syndicate has refused to publish his work, he forms his own for this purpose, and also to publish work by others which was rejected for suspect reasons. His syndicate also communicates by radio with physicists on Urras. This is an unprecedented and controversial step, for Odonians are still called "oddies" and "bastards" there, and in return they fear and hate Urrasti and severely restrict all contact between the two planets. Shevek, however, goes further yet, accepting an invitation to visit one of their major universities--pretty much as a visiting professor. This is necessary to his work, for he has no peers in his field on Anarres--his field is in fact disesteemed there--while he is highly regarded on Urras. On Anarres he and his family are reviled and harassed, but no laws, State Department, or police stand in his way when he goes to board the ore freighter to Urras. The Defense guards in fact protect him from an angry mob as he boards the ship.

Shevek and his syndics succeed, it should be noted, partly because of free appropriation in a pure-communist society. They wished to broadcast by radio, so they requisitioned a transmitter and got it. No one can deny them except when scarcity requires rationing. Similarly, to publish books they requisition presses, ink, paper, etc. In a society with no property either private or public, to refuse what someone requests is rarely justified, and is a ticklish matter always.

I will conclude this analysis with a list of topics that might be useful for discussion. Page references are to the Avon paper edition of *The Dispossessed*.

Violence and nonviolence on Anarres. Note that weapons are not used in this society but that hand-to-hand fighting to vent personal animosity is accepted (pp. 2, 41, 49).

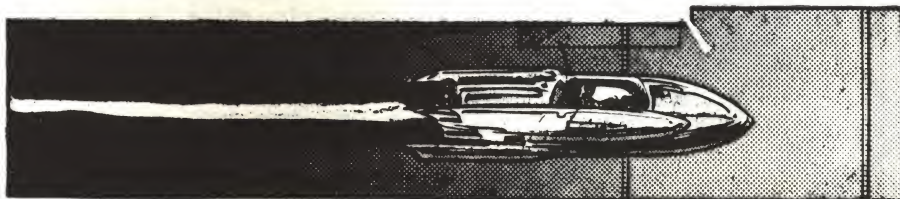
Libertarian educational theory as put into practice on Anarres; e.g., Herbert Read's idea of aesthetic education (p. 127).

Personal authority in a nonauthoritarian society (p. 45).

Shevek's and Vea's replay of the debate between Kropotkin and Thomas Huxley that led to the writing of (p. 177).

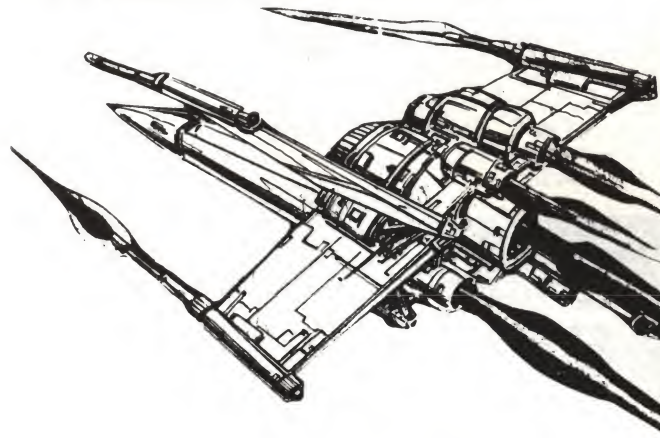
Organic analogy in anarchist theory--e.g., Kropotkin and Murray Bookchin.

Property and possessions as a hindrance to freedom (pp. 184, 199, and elsewhere).



These are a few of many possibilities for studying and discussing a rich and finely woven novel. A well-prepared discussion leader and a lively group should easily come up with more. Anyone who wants more background on the sources of *The Dispossessed* can find articles on Ursula K. LeGuin under the heading of twentieth-century American literature in the *MLA Annual Bibliography* though reasonably wide reading on anarchism should be enough.

A novel like this is an invaluable tool for introducing people to anarchist ideas and values, for it presents these practically and concretely, offering a lively story in place of tedious theorizing. Much "classical" anarchist writing, on the other hand, makes bad introductory material--this has been my experience. The older writings can be fragmentary in form, and their ideas partly outmoded and too laboriously argued. To be sure, some of the "classical" writings shouldn't be missed, and *The Dispossessed* should do its part to lead its readers into further reading. The novel stands well by itself, but it becomes a richer experience for a reader who knows, or is told something about, the tradition it draws on. (LeGuin's own interest in anarchism is attested to in "The Day Before the Revolution," a story about Odo, in *The Wind's Twelve Quarters*, available in paper.) Like the best science fiction, *The Dispossessed* is an eye-opening introduction to a new world--not only to a possible future but to a historical past and to a present of ideas and action as well.



LETTERS

on dolgoff's pamphlet

Dear Comrades,

Enclosed you'll find \$2 for the copies of Sam's "A Critique of Marxism" pamphlet that you sent me. Please send me five more since I got rid of them pretty quickly. Regarding this pamphlet I would have to say that your note on the front page is in line with how I feel. Overall the pamphlet is interesting and informative as well as provocative. Unfortunately, I would say this pamphlet has many shortcomings, and one of them is that it negates the rise of a new libertarian trend in Marxism. Such a trend can be found in such groups as 'Solidarity in England and its sister groups throughout the world.

While I can't really consider myself a Marxist *per se*, I feel that it's important to recognize such groups and their often Marxist-leaning historical, political and economic approach towards many problems that the working class and society as a whole faces. It's important to recognize the validity of these groups as libertarian organisms because they have, for the most part, broken out of the usual Marxist niche. While these groups recognize the validity of many of Marx's theories, they are not so dogmatic and sectarian as to believe that Marx's writings are the holy gospel (particularly many of his political writings, as well as most of Engel's writings). In fact, when many of these neo-Marxist groups critique Marxism, they critique Marxism from a clearly Anarchist point of view (for instance, Solidarity's pamphlet "Redefining Socialism").

Therefore I would say that Sam's pamphlet falls into a rut because he does not, or will not, recognize these new historical developments within the Marxist school of thought. Unfortunately, while Sam does a good critique of the authoritarian school of Marxism, he, as well as many other Anarchists, fails to look beyond the realm that Marxism as a whole is a monolithic ideology.

For a world without bosses,
M.M.

Sam Dolgoff's "A Critique of Marxism" was written "in response to young people seeking clarification of the main issues involved in the classic controversy between Marxists and Anarchists." I applaud such an effort because it is greatly needed but the resultant pamphlet leaves much to be desired. In fact, from my point of view, it is counterproductive.

There are two major problems with this pamphlet. The first is stylistic. Dolgoff arranges the subject matter "in a form of extracts from relevant sources so that the authors speak for themselves." The use of quotes is an effective method for certain purposes, but quotes strung together to make arguments (without smooth transitions) are not effective. They lead almost inevitably to the development of poorly structured polemics. This is so for two reasons. First, the points being made become dependent upon the context of the quoted authors. Second, concepts not relevant to the point being emphasized get tied up in the logic of the polemic. For these two reasons, I believe that well structured arguments should be fully developed by the author and that quotes should only be used for documentation, historical perspective, and added insight.

The second problem (the most important one) concerns the content of the essay. Most of Dolgoff's criticisms of Marxism provided in the pamphlet are based on misunderstandings or oversimplifications of Marxist concepts. This type of scholarship does not clarify the main issues involved in the classic controversy between Marxists and Anarchists. It can only inject false issues into that controversy. Let me take the rest of this essay to illustrate.

In general, Dolgoff seems to be confused about the role that class consciousness plays in a capitalist society, but that would take far too much space and time to clarify. Some more specific problems in his argument can be discussed here.

Right from the start, Dolgoff excludes essential portions of Marx's work from his critique. For example he says:

"Our critique excludes forgotten earlier writings disavowed by Marx and Engels and deals only with their mature works." (From the Foreward).

The arguments that justify ignoring Marx's early writings are not strong enough considering the importance of those writings. The fact that an author disowns his/her previous (early) writings does not negate their (the writings') importance to understanding the author's later writings. Neither Marx's early writings nor his mature writings can stand alone. The division between Marx's writings is really more apparent than real. In both he is writing about the same phenomena. He is looking at those same phenomena from different directions and using different language. (See Eric Fromm's foreward to *Karl Marx: Early Writings*.) To understand these phenomena and Marx's perspective on them one must read both groups of writings. This is clearly demonstrable from a reading of his early "On the Jewish Question." He sees Judaism (commerce, self-interest, practical need, huckstering, pp. 34-37) as a barrier to human emancipation. In *Capital*, he sees capitalism as that same barrier to human emancipation. But is there a significant difference between Judaism and capitalism as Marx defines them, especially as Marx defines them by their context? Only dogmatic Marxists fall into this trap (Stalinists, etc.).

Dolgoff then proceeds to blend together into a single concept Economic Determinism, Historical Materialism, Dialectical Materialism, Materialistic Conception of History, and Scientific Socialism. He states that:



management to personnel, the second this man jumps punch his clock card OUT and notify the wage office

"Marxism is based on the theory of Economic Determinism (or its equivalent terms - Historical Materialism, Dialectical Materialism, Materialistic Conception of History, Scientific Socialism, etc.). Economic Determinism constitutes the essence of Marxism. (p. 2)

Equating Economic Determinism with Historical Materialism and Dialectical Materialism is a major oversimplification. This misunderstanding displays little knowledge of Marx's predecessors and colleagues. For example, Malthus, Ricardo, and Smith could be called Economic Determinists but by no means would they (or Marxists) equate Economic Determinism with Historical Materialism or Dialectical Materialism. A major portion of *Capital* was used to differentiate Marx from the classical political economists (Smith, Ricardo, Malthus, etc.). Equating Historical Materialism (the science of history) with Dialectical Materialism (Marxist philosophy) is a popular misinterpretation. Historical Materialism has as its object the concept of history, through the study of various modes of production and social formations, their structure, constitution, and functioning, and the forms of transition from one social formation to another. Dialectical Materialism has as its object the production of knowledge, that is the structure and function of the process of thought. (See Poulantzas, *Political Power and Social Classes* and Althusser, *Reading Capital*).

Marxism is not necessarily (strictly speaking) economically deterministic. Monocausal determinism, such as economic determinism, excludes the possibility of dialectics (by definition) which is basic to all but vulgar and dogmatic Marxism. Most Marxists view Historical Materialism as the study of different ideological, political, and economic structures and practices which combine to constitute a mode of production and social formation (See Poulantzas, *Political Power and Social Classes*). This is hardly the economic determinism that Dolgoff reads into Marxist literature. Dolgoff refers to Bakunin in order to criticize Marx's economic determinism:

"He stressed the point that causes and effects are continuously interacting and replacing themselves. Causes become effects. Effects, in turn, become causes." (pp. 2-3)

Is this not Marx's dialectics? One page later Dolgoff quotes Engels, who clearly recognizes this dialectical relationship:

"Causes (the economic structure of society) and effects, (the whole legal, political, moral, etc. 'superstructure'), are constantly changing places and what is now or here an effect becomes there or then a cause and vice versa...." (p. 4)

Dolgoff sees this as a contradiction within Marxism and not a reflection of his arguments. But it is not in contradiction with Marxism or Marx's economic determinism; in fact, it is the essence of Marx's Dialectical Materialism. Dolgoff's interpretation reflects the depth of his biases against Marxism, not any internal contradiction in Marx, or in this case Engels.

Not only does Dolgoff, as indicated above, confuse epistemology and methodology by equating Dialectical Materialism with Historical Materialism, but he also assails the causality behind economic determinism while adhering to different but equally causal statements. The following quote is but one of many examples:

"The State wrecked the economy, stifled initiative and held back progress for centuries." (p. 12)



"Whenever I'm in the dumps, I just sit back and think of my hundred and fifty million dollars."

The section "Nature and the State" is filled with similar causal statements. In addition, this section assumes that there is one accepted theory of the State. This is patently false. There are many theories of the State, some historical, some anthropological, some sociological, and some philosophical. I shall list a few examples that immediately come to mind: the state is derived from the development of religious elites (Wheatley); the development of irrigated agriculture demands organization of labor, which leads to the organization of the state (Wittfogel); the public good theory of the state, the state exists and originated to provide public goods and services (Buchanan); the social contract and the protection from the state of nature (Hobbes and Rousseau); the development of dense populations required the development of the city which led to the development of the state; the development of trade and the need to regulate that trade led to the development of the state; and Dolgoff's mentioned theory of warfare and the interaction of nomads and sedentary peoples. There is anything but consensus on these issues and it is misleading to argue as if there is a consensus. This section is well argued, possibly the best portion of the paper, but it provides only one theory (the one that supports Dolgoff's position) and does not adequately refute the others.

Dolgoff also (incorrectly) believes that Marxists do not recognize the role of the state. Marxists do recognize the relative autonomy of the state but as in all their work they emphasize the dialectical rather than deterministic relations between the state and capital. This explicit recognition is even more apparent today. There is an entire group of Marxists trying to further delineate the role of the state in late capitalist society (The Bay Area Kapitalistate Group).

Finally, Dolgoff naively accepts another popular misconception concerning Historical Materialism. This can be seen in the following quote:

"Thorough research by highly qualified historians leads to the inescapable conclusion that capitalism is not, as Marxists insist, the indispensable progressive precondition for the transition to socialism." (p. 22)

Marx and most Marxists do not even state, let alone insist, that this is the case. Marx did say that, given the historical conditions of Western Europe, capitalism was the indispensable progressive precondition for the transition to socialism, but he never implied that this was a universal theory applicable to all situations. In fact, his whole method implies that his is impossible. (See S. Avineri, *The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx*, pp. 151-152, a letter from Marx to Vera Zasulich, March 8, 1881 and in a letter to a Russian journal. *Otecestveniya Zapiski*, where he explicitly denies such charges.)

I believe an Anarchist critique of Marxism (especially Marxist-Leninism) is necessary, but I feel it should be grounded in a thorough knowledge of Marxism and not the popular misinterpretation of Marxism. Such a criticism could be directed at the rejection of cultural issues by Marxist-Leninism, its inability to integrate feminism, personal issues, and sexual matters into its theory and practice, the dogmatic tendencies of many of the present-day Marxist-Leninists, its insistence on a revolutionary party-vanguard, democratic centralism, and much more. These all lead to a Marxism that is not humanistic. They all lead to an authoritarian state and probably to authoritarian state capitalism (USSR). I personally find Marxism extremely rewarding as a critique of capitalism. I find its prescription for transition to socialism appalling. Its authoritarian nature, democratic centralism, spells its doom.

I do not find Dolgoff's critique of Marxism very satisfying. Instead I recommend *Radical America*, Vol. 11 No. 6 and Vol. 12 no. 1 (Nov 1977-Feb 1978), particularly the editorial preface, "Marxism, Prefigurative Communism, and the Problem of Workers' Control" by Carl Boggs, and "Sex, Family and the New Right: Anti-feminism as a political force" by Linda Gordon and Allen Hunter. For an example of a Marxist constructively considering the importance of Anarchism to socialism, see "The Relevance of Anarchism" by Anthony Arblaster in the *Socialist Register*, 1971. If we are going to clarify issues, let's do so accurately.

Mickey Lauria

Rejoinder

I wish to express my deep appreciation to the comrades of *Soil of Liberty* and to Mickey Lauria for granting me space to reply and for sending me an advance copy of his critique of my Critique of Marxism. Mickey's opinion of my style and structure are of minor importance and I prefer to discuss briefly only his main objections.

1) Since both Marx and Engels disavowed their early forgotten writings, "abandoning them to the growing criticism of the mice," I discuss only their mature works. The connection between Marx' and Engels' earlier and later works are at best tenuous and Engels himself confessed that "we were not clear in our own mind." It is for this reason that they were "very embarrassed" when Alexis Vodin expressed "interest in Marx' and Engels' earlier writings" (see my Foreword). The understanding of Marx does not depend on writings published in 1927---about a half century later.

2) There is no connection whatsoever between Marx' *On the Jewish Question*--an anti-semitic diatribe repeating the biblical injunctions against the sins of avarice and usury--and Marx' *Capital*--a masterful, detailed analysis of 19th Century Capitalism.

3) The charge that I equate "economic determinism with historical materialism and dialectical materialism" should be directed against the Marxists and not against me. In the Engels quote from my pamphlet, Mickey omits the Engels reference connecting economic determinism to "a materialist conception of history...propounded..." by Marx in his *Critique of Political Economy*. In his *Ludwig Feuerbach* chapter on Dialectical Materialism, Engels devotes four pages to demonstrate the connection between dialectical materialism and economic determinism (pp. 50-54). And on Page 78 in the Appendix, Engels credits Marx with developing the method which forms the foundation of *The Critique of Political Economy* (International Publishers, 1941). In his introduction to Pava Donayevskaya's *Marxism and Freedom* (Bookman Associates, 1958, p. 8), Herbert Marcuse calls Marxist theory the "Dialectical-Materialist conception of industrial society", correctly acknowledging the umbilical connection between "the inner identity of the philosophical and economic stage of Marxist theory."

And Mickey himself also declares that "historical materialism is the study of ... structures which combine to constitute a *mode of production*" (my emphasis). Mickey's assertion that "Malthus, Ricardo and Smith could be called economic determinists" is both false and ridiculous. If these bourgeois economists were economic determinists they would be Marxists!

4) Direct quotes from Engels and Marx (and many others can be easily supplied) prove conclusively that I am NOT "reading my own views on economic determinism into Marxist literature."

5) Mickey's contentions do not refute the fact that Marx' and Engels' theory of economic determinism contradicts their theory of dialectical materialism. When both Marx and Engels insist that causes and effects are continually interacting and replacing themselves, dialectical materialism clashes with the dogma that the ultimate cause of all social changes, even philosophical and moral concepts, are to be found only in the mode and relations of production. The quote from Engels actually documents this contradiction.

6) That there is more than one theory of the State, as of every other institution, is a platitude that no one will contest. Mickey has no right to scold me because I do not discuss all of them in a little pamphlet. The charge that I document my remarks on only one source, Jencks, is false. I also quote Sidney Hook, Rudolf Hilferding, Michel Collinet, Ferdinand Lot, Rene Dumont, Gaston Leval, and Bakunin. Since Mickey admits that this section on The Nature of the State "is well argued," I just don't see what he is complaining about.

7) My Critique emphasises that the classic controversy between Marxism and Anarchism revolves around the nature and the role of the State. As against Marx and his orthodox followers, not only the Anarchists but even modern Marxists, alarmed by the growing economic and military power of the modern State, are (as Mickey implies) beginning to realize that the State is not only the product but the creator and the perpetuator of economic, political and social inequality. In support of my argument I quote from the *Communist Manifesto* (published in 1848) and *Anti-Duhring* (published in 1878, Foreword, pp. 8, 9).

on palestine

Contrary to Mickey's assertion, Marx and Engels did NOT recognize either the "role or autonomy" of the State. Since Mickey himself inadvertently concedes that Marx' prescription for the necessity of the 'workers state' during the 'transition to socialism' is appalling, he refutes himself and his argument is pointless.

8) The idea that capitalism is the indispensable progressive precondition for the transition to socialism is a fundamental tenet of Marxism. Mickey's assertion that "Marx and the Marxists do not even state" that this is indeed the case is false. I devote a whole chapter to this problem (pp. 5-8) illustrating the argument by at least TWELVE DIRECT quotations from Marx, Engels and Marx' official authorized biographer, Franz Mehring. Moreover, Mickey flatly contradicts himself in the same paragraph; "Marx DID SAY that in Western Europe... Capitalism was indispensable" (my emphasis). For Marx and Engels "the evolution of society, ancient, asiatic, feudal and bourgeois capitalist modes of production constitute progressive epochs in the economic systems of society." (quoted on p. 5)

9) Marx often contradicts himself in language so vague as to render his text almost incomprehensible. Almost a century after his death (1883), the perennial controversy about what Marx really meant remains the subject of innumerable books, articles and dissertations. Mickey's reference to Marx' letter to Vera Zasulich, in which (to curry favor with the Russian Narodniks--Populists), Marx decisively reversed himself, for an example. However, my quote from Marx (p. 7) that "no slavish people have a future for the simple reason that they lack the indispensable political and industrial conditions for independence" is wholly consistent with his doctrine.

10) Mickey tries mightily to whitewash Marxism on every essential point--the State, economic determinism, historical determinism, dialectics, progressive character of capitalism, etc. Without even naming which of Marx' or Engels' writings sustain his points, he repeats the arguments of Neo-Marxists like Eric Fromm, Shloime Aveneri and others whom he admires.

In view of his pronounced Neo-Marxist sympathies, Mickey naturally "does not find Dolgoff's Critique of Marxism very satisfactory". I have neither the inclination nor the time to prolong this discussion. So be it.

Sam Dolgoff

The earth, as E.J. Dolgoff writes (SOL, Vol 4, No. 1-2), indeed belongs to all. I presume that Dolgoff's statement does include the Palestinian Arabs as well! But the Arabs of Palestine have been denied the very right to live on and to work their own land. This is where the crux of the Palestine dispute lies.

Ever since the Zionist movement set out to conquer and colonize Palestine at the turn of the century, the sons and daughters of the land (mostly a peasant population), have been pushed aside and expelled from their land in the most systematic and often brutal ways. This process took place before the war of 1948 as well as during the war when close to a million Palestinian Arabs became refugees (who still live in camps and await the return to their homes) and continued after the establishment of the state of Israel (May 15, 1948). This happened both within the pre-1967 war boundaries of Israel and in the conquered territories which were occupied by Israel during the war.

The highly sophisticated schemes designed with the purpose of "clearing the country from Arabs" have been devised and implemented by all segments of the Zionist movement, regardless of political and social persuasion. Thus even the so-called socialist elements within Zionism who have established a net of collectives (*kibbutzim*) throughout the country (and to whom E.J. Dolgoff presumably refers as "socialists" and "anarchists"), do not allow Arabs to either live on or own (collectively or privately) these lands, despite the fact that most of these lands have been taken from Arabs, often from the same Arabs who are now employed on these lands as wage laborers, and by so doing provide the new Zionist "socialist" and "anarchist" bosses of the land with cheap labor. In fact, this practice of apartheid-like discrimination in agrarian affairs is part of the Zionists State's legal system of which the *kibbutz* movement takes full advantage. Arabs by law are not allowed to either live on or own some 95% of the land--land which is reserved exclusively for Jews.

It is against this state of affairs and the political entity which sustains it (i.e. the Zionist State of Israel) that the Palestinian Arab people's struggle is being fought. It is

a struggle for the restoration of full human dignity: for the right of a people to live on its land and work it; and, in fact, for the right of this people to survive.

If this struggle against a Nation State and the colonial context from within which it sprang is labeled "fascism" and the understanding of its context "bolshevism", so be it. I, for one, am proud to take part in such a struggle.

No doubt, the Palestinian Arabs' struggle for liberation has been exploited and manipulated by politicians across the board, both within the Arab world and the Palestinian Arab camp, and outside of it. Unfortunately it is their voices and aspirations which are being amplified in the established international press and in Dolgoff's letter. The slogan of throwing the Jews into the sea, as one example, originated precisely in these circles. Therefore, one must not confuse between the struggle of a people for liberation and the political aspirations of an elite for further power and control.

Egypt's president Anwar Sadat's dramatic trip to Jerusalem in November 1977 and the political maneuvers which have followed are more examples of a people being sold out by an ambitious politician. For years under the slogan of Arab nationalism, Sadat and his predecessor Gaml Abd al-Nasser were rallying the Arab peoples, including the people of Palestine, behind them as the saviours of all evils. Yet when for strategic military reasons and internal Egyptian economic difficulties and political unrest, Sadat found it necessary to reconcile himself to the neighboring colonial/Zionist State and he did not hesitate to proceed with his plans. Selling out the Palestinian Arab struggle for liberation was evidently less important for him than consolidating his own power in Egypt.

To sum up, I strongly believe that, as Michael Bakunin put it in reference to the colonial situation, every people "has the right to be itself and no one is entitled to impose its costume, its customs, its language, its opinions, or its laws." It is with the very same spirit that I called in my article for "transforming Palestine into a free and secular society which will recognize the right of the country's refugees to return to their homeland and the right to cultural self-determination of all its ethno-cultural communities and

peoples." Furthermore, such social order, I believe, could only be realized in the context of a stateless communist society.

Nadav Katz

Dear Comrades of Soil of Liberty,

Thank you for printing my letter in answer to Nadav's article on the situation in Israel. However, Don Olson's comment to my letter should be directed to Nadav and not to me.

In his concern for the Palestinians, Nadav sides with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), establishing yet another fledgling state to be dominated by either of the great power blocs in their struggle for control of the Middle East (the PLO is supported by the Soviet bloc). Nadav prefers to ignore that which does not happen to fit his political formula. He chooses not to mention that it is better to live where there are more civil liberties than in dictatorships where there are none. He implies that civil liberties are of minor importance, forgetting that these liberties were not handed down to the people on a silver platter. Civil Liberties were conquered only in struggles against the states from time immemorial and paid for with the blood of countless martyrs to the cause of freedom. Every state seeks to limit, and if possible, deprive the people of their liberty, and in Israel, as in all other countries the people must be ready to defend and widen their freedoms.

However, the anarchists know that no state can ever be an instrument for the rehabilitation of society. At a meeting at which an unofficial delegate of the PLO to the United Nations spoke, we asked the following questions: Since in Israel some very old Kibbutz settlers told us that they were able to get on very fine with their Arab neighbors before the establishment of the Israeli State and the help of the Arab neighbors was necessary for the very survival of the Kibbutz, what part do the states, local or national, play in making trouble between peoples? What part will the PLO play if and when a Palestinian state is established? Will not the leaders of the PLO and their followers become the dictatorial rulers of the state as has occurred in all the other newly created states? Will the landless agricultural laborers be given ownership of

the land they cultivate? Will the wages and the working conditions of the industrial workers be improved---will the workers control the enterprises in which they toil or will they continue to be serfs of the capitalists and the state? Will the taxes which the governmental parasites will squeeze out of the toilers go for bread and butter, for schools and parks, or will the money go for war preparations and the maintenance of luxurious embassies all over the world and for a complex network of spies? The answer is clear. NOTHING WILL HAVE CHANGED FOR THE BETTER FOR THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. THEY WILL REMAIN SLAVES OF THE WEALTHY OWNERS OF THE LAND AND OF THE STATE.

We join our valiant Israeli anarchist militants in proclaiming that the world belongs to all the people; that Arabs and Jews and all the other peoples in the Middle East and the rest of the world must repudiate states and form a federation of peoples who in solidarity will rejuvenate society according to the principles of self-management and distribution of the products of labor according to the principle of "from each according to his/her ability and to each according to his/her need." Far from being a utopian proposal, only in this way will life on this planet survive.

Yours for a new, better world
Esther Dolgoff, New York City

CIENTFUEGOS PRESS

We just received our advance copy of the Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review Number 4. Each issue has doubled over the last, this one is 184 pages. This issue was late and they appeal for subscriptions (\$20 per year) which includes all the books, pamphlets and reviews for the year. They need, and deserve, support. WE have all four reviews available.

No. 1 - 1976	\$0.80
No. 2 - 1977	\$2.40
No. 3 - 1977	\$4.40
No. 4 - 1978	\$6.00

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Literature

Michael Coughlin is the editor of the dandelion, a journal of individualist anarchist thought in the Benjamin Tucker tradition (for a sample copy or subscription, 1985 Selby Avenue, St. Paul, MN 55104). He has also just re-published Nationalism and Culture by Rudolf Rocker, originally published in 1937. A massive 614 page book (2 inches thick), the hardcover is a deluxe edition well worth the \$15.00 and the paperback is \$10.00, both available from us. Please order soon as he needs to pay off the printer. In addition, the following is also among that available from us. For those of you in the area who want to see what else we have, call 724-2976.

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Alexander Berkman - What is Communist Anarchism? (Dover) \$3.66

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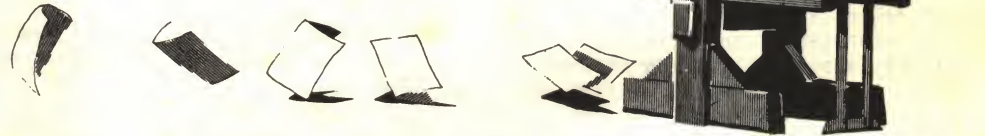
SOIL OF LIBERTY staff members are Fluffy Golod, Nhat Hong, Mickey Lauria, Don Olson and Victor Urbanowicz. Special thanks this issue to Geoff Gardner.

Well, we are very late with this issue. Our excuse is being busy. In addition to the staff members and comrades involved with the Delano affair, Don Olson finally did a five-day sentence in January in the Stearns County jail in St. Cloud. Barring the unforeseen, we do want to publish more regularly in the future.

We have nearly exhausted the first 1150 copies of the pamphlet by Sam Dolgoff, "The Relevance of Anarchism to Modern Society." We will soon be reprinting it.

We invite submissions of articles and graphics.

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David Suter

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